2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

304 [173] the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

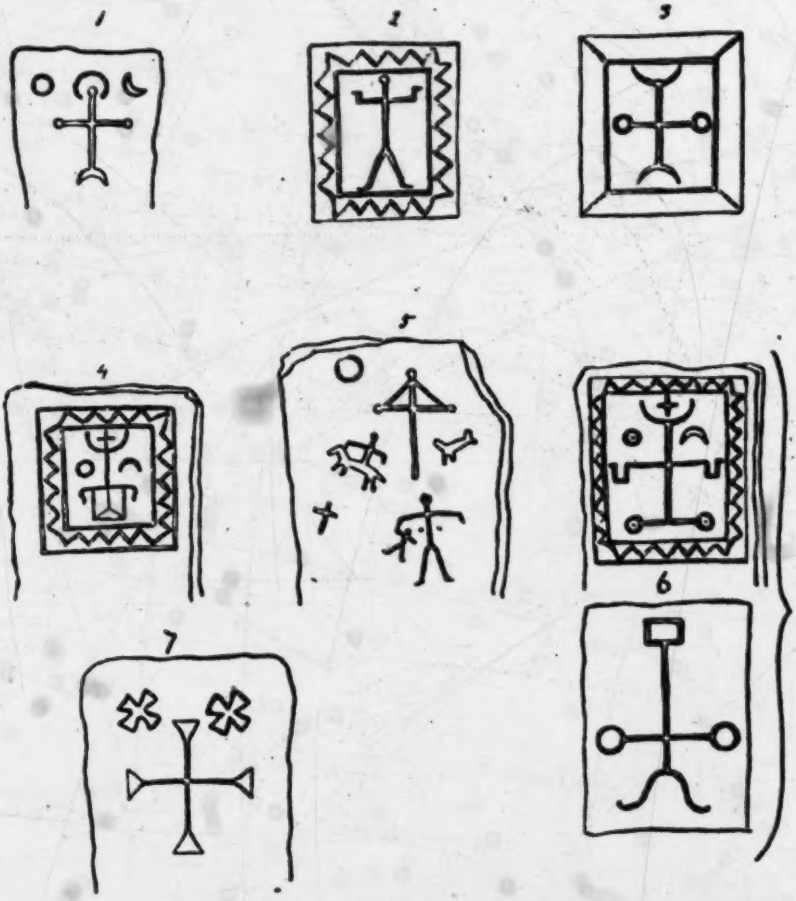


FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

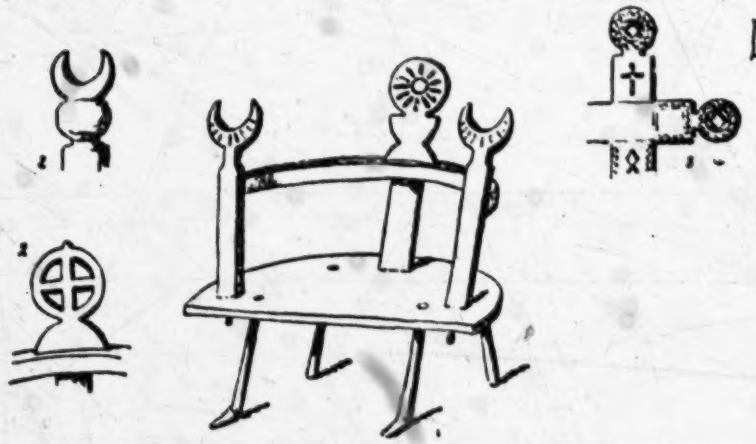
one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

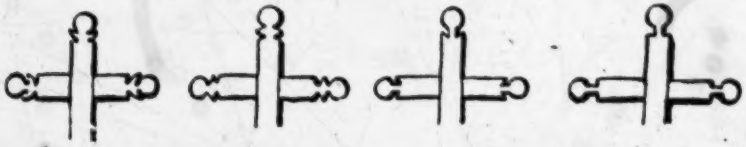
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one.

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani



4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



4. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding-day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

The funeral observances of the Albanians also resemble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours. 764 ●

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764
533 The ideas expressed in it may also be found in Greek and Roumanian folk-song.

[539]

Kyabése's bridge hard by,
Slain by treach'rous foes I lie.
Comrades, greet my mother well,
Bid her the two oxen sell;
Give the money to my Life,
To my dear, my promised wife.
Asks mother what doth me betide,
Say, I have wedded here a bride.
Asks she who holds me with her charms,
Tell her, three bullets in my breast,
Six in my legs and in my arms.
Asks she who came as bidden guest,
And at my wedding feast was seen;
The crows and ravens, say, were there;
They have the friends and neighbours been,
And they devoured the wedding fare!

Sometimes animals and inanimate objects, with which the deceased has been associated in his lifetime, are poetically represented as missing him and mourning his loss, as in this lament for a Tosk chieftain who has met with a violent death:—

[539]

Derwen Agha, *veh!*[1] all slain
Lie thy followers on the plain!
Hear thy sword cry from the wall,
"Where's my lord?" in sorrow's thrall,
"Where's my lord, that he no more
Draws and waves me as of yore?"
Hear thy charger from his stall,
"Where's my lord?" complain and call,
"Where's my lord, to fill my rack,
Girth the saddle on my back?
Where's my lord, that he bestride me,
Gaily through the mountains ride me?"

[1] The Albanian exclamation of distress.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

For the untimely death of a young wife, not yet a mother, the following may serve as a specimen :—

O willow-wand so golden,
No townswoman more slight;
O beautiful of feature,
As partridge on the height!

O swift as weaver's shuttle,
Where wilt thou henceforth bide?
O partridge on the red rock,
Thy dower in chest must hide!

Where wilt thou be this summer,
Reft from thy dear lord's side?
O beauteous dancing vine-branch,
Thou wast a virgin bride!

Like blade of grass thou grewest,
Refined as finest gold,
And thy short life, O joyless!
Few joys for thee did hold.

A mother's grief is expressed in these, the opening verses only, of a long dirge for an only son. As I have previously had occasion to mention, the women of South Albania especially manifest an excessive degree of grief for the death of children, and often refuse, when left childless, to survive them.

O Death! O thou who know'st no ruth!
Why rob me of my son?
Why tear him from my loving arms?
My boy, my dearest one!

No pity hadst thou in thy stroke!
Before thou laidst him prone,
Why torture him with cruel pains?—
My boy, my dearest one!

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764
533
[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

696
763
152 It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

696
763
152
764

which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *palliker*:

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiele*, the Greek Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.

PEAKS OF SHALA

though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there, talking, for an hour or more. The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and setting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

1 [Franciscan Bishop of Pultit - [25] Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war.

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky. and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We[1] followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral.

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's[2] castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought.

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

1 [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

2 [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punishment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to 'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
302 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
*628 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses. A 531 342

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. I saw no examples myself. Y [304]

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9). A 304 531 A [342 531]

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it. A 764

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church. A 531 346

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemispheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a M 764 531

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

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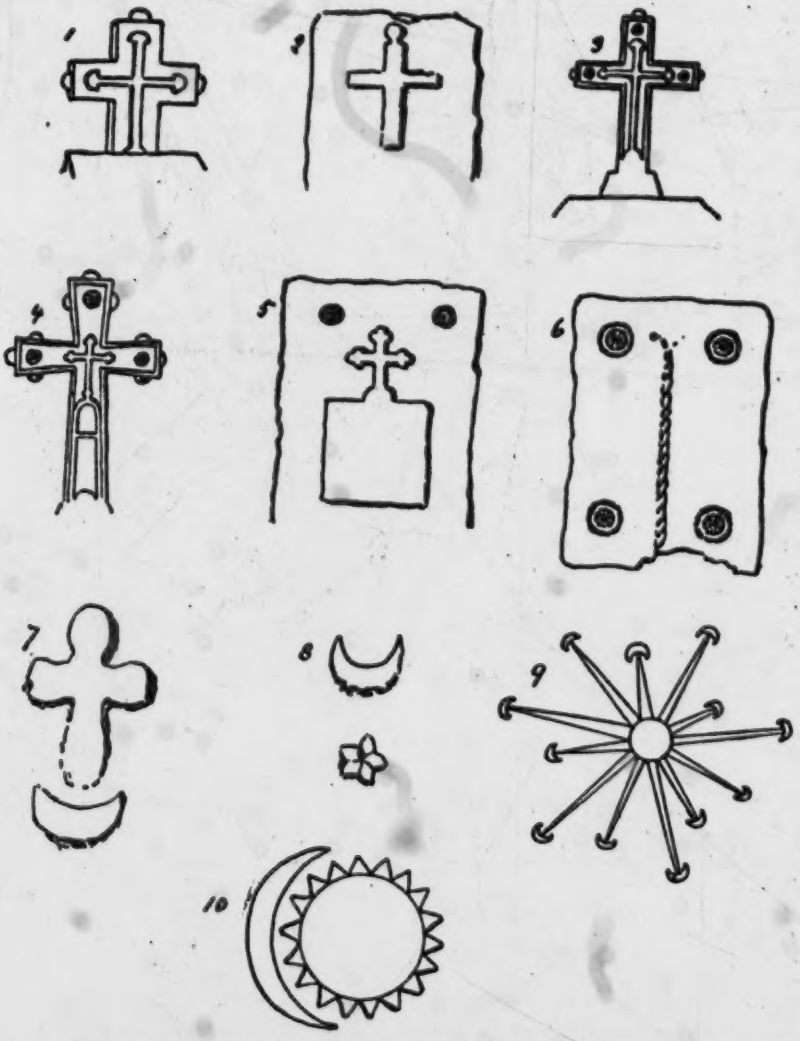

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–3. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 4–8. Mediæval gravestones at Stolats, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

Y 777 172

In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

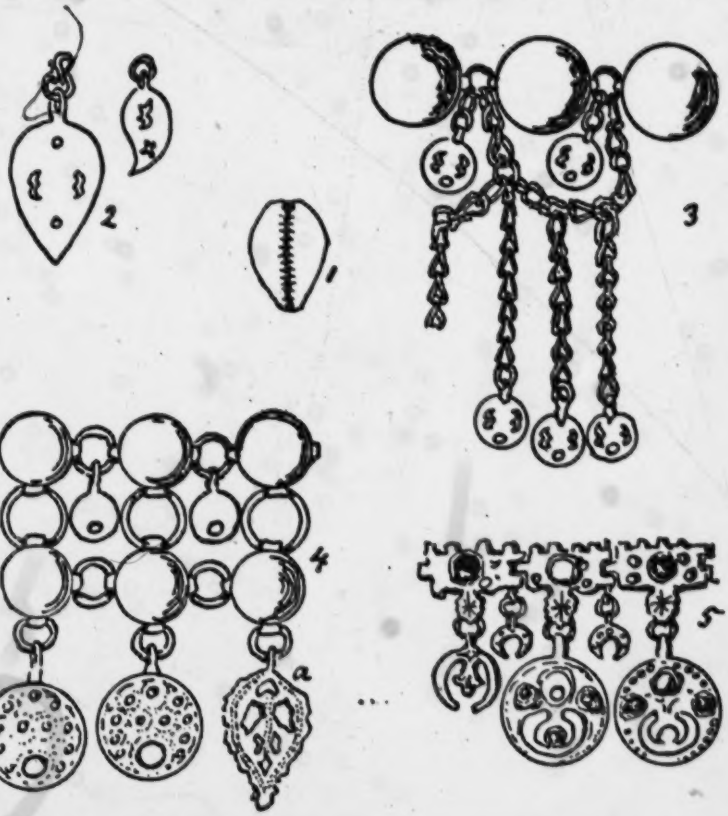

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2, Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

A 142 171

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins

H 721 175 326

the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave.

M 836 554

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter.

H M A 784 721

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

M 777 775

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it has remained the recognized protector.

A 764

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until

. 2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the T 778 775 spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of